former World Bank chief economist Joseph Stiglitz opened this year’s IBA conference with a stark warning: austerity measures will not solve the global financial crisis.

In an opening keynote address, Stiglitz said that it has been five years since the beginning of the global economic depression, with little signs of recovery. His solution is economic stimulus. But EU and US governments are not likely to adopt the Keynesian ideology of stimulus spending during times of economic stagnation though.

“This is not supposed to make you feel comfortable,” Stiglitz said. “I fear political gridlock will prevent what needs to be done.”

Stiglitz argued austerity measures implemented during the Great Depression in the US caused a double-dip recession. Austerity appears a likely policy both in the US and Europe for the foreseeable future.

Reports project the US Congress to remain heavily divided on the issue even if President Barack Obama is elected to a second term. Furthermore, conditions for bailed-out EU jurisdictions typically require immense budget cuts. Stiglitz said the US economy, for example, needs another round of stimulus at least as large as the one implemented in 2008.

Stiglitz said that stimulus is needed in the US and Europe because the recession is a result of structural deficiencies, particularly high levels of unemployment. Subprime mortgage defaults and banking mismanagement worsened an already declining economy.

Stiglitz cited a return in real estate investment, large, cash-rich firms and a general return to health in the US financial sector as evidence of need for structural overhauls. This will not be easy though, he said. It would require a transition similar to the move from farming into manufacturing employment by the US prior and during World War II.

“In a way, we are a victim of our own success,” Stiglitz said of US increases in productivity that has made manufacturing a less significant source of employment.

“Markets don’t make structural transitions easily,” added Stiglitz. Government needs to facilitate the structural transition because the individuals who would be making the transition into new forms of

“We can’t afford not to use stimulus”

Continued on page 2

Joseph Stiglitz is an American economist and a professor at Columbia University. He received the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 2001 and the John Bates Clark Medal in 1979.

Stiglitz is also the former senior vice president and chief economist of the World Bank. He is known for his critical view of the management of globalisation, free-market economists and some international institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

In 2000, Stiglitz founded the Initiative for Policy Dialogue, a think tank on international development based at Columbia University. Since 2001, he has been a member of the Columbia faculty, where he has been a professor since 2003.

He also chairs the Socialist International Commission on Global Financial Issues and is a member of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences. Stiglitz has over 40 honorary doctorates and at least eight honorary professorships, as well as an honorary deanship. He is one of the most frequently cited economists in the world and the author of ten books, with his latest, The Price of Inequality, appearing in The New York Times best seller list.

During a 2010 BBC interview, Stiglitz argued that Europe should make a clear statement of belief in social solidarity and that they should stand
VOX POP

QUESTION: Which sessions are you most looking forward to?  

Andriy Kostin
Kostin Law
Ukraine

I’m a lawyer and arbitrator. I’m attending the IBA to find out new things about international arbitration. The IBA chooses the best arbitrators as speakers so we can make use of their experience and develop as arbitrators accordingly.

Harsiman Singh
Singh & Associates
India

I’m going to attend the aircraft leasing session tomorrow because it’s relevant for the jurisdiction I’m from. I think Ireland is the best place for the aircraft leasing industry because of the tax incentives and many major players have already set up a presence here.

Mark M. Lazarre
Lazarre Law Firm
US

I’m most looking forward to the sessions on construction law. The construction law committee is one of the IBA’s best, partly because it is very social. I love the collegiality of the IBA. If you get actively involved, you can learn a lot. The maritime and transport sessions are of main interest to me. But I’m also keen to attend some energy law and litigation-focused panels.

Hassan Ali Raddi
Hassan Raddi & Associates
Bahrain

The arbitration and infrastructure-focused session are most useful to me. I’m also interested in attending panels run by the IBA litigation committee. The IBA is very good at bringing together lawyers from various jurisdictions. This enables us to delegate from others to better understand different legal scenarios from different countries and how we may be able to work together.

Xianyue Bai
Winners Law Office
China

I’m looking forward to the corporate counsel and the real estate and insurance sessions. Another highlight will be the women forums. Coming from a developing country, women and development issues are important, as is the rule of law. I’m also looking forward to doing some networking and listening to erudite lawyers.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Continued from page 2

employment are without the economic resources to do so, he said.

Stimulus in monetary policy would have a smaller impact than increases in government-backed employment so another round of quantitative easing by the US Federal Reserve would have limited benefits, Stiglitz said. Actual government spending is his solution despite growing federal debt.

“We can’t afford not to use stimulus,” Stiglitz added.

Stiglitz said that Europe has more complex problems but a similar theme. He said the EU sovereign debt crisis is another example of a faulty diagnosis and a bad prescription. Again, Stiglitz preached against austerity.

“Austerity has almost never worked,” he said. The only time it can work, according to Stiglitz, is when exports can replace government spending as a source of growth, but that is unlikely to occur when major trading partners are also suffering an economic depression. Such is the case in the Eurozone.

Stiglitz said the European Monetary Union can only continue if there is a common banking system with deposit insurance to encourage investors from facing troubled jurisdictions. In absence of member-wide debt mutualisation, the only result can be a Eurozone break-up, continued Stiglitz.

The professor cited investments into the US during the economic crisis as backing for his position. “Backing any banking sys-

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China continues to grow at around 7% for instance. Stiglitz said emerging markets will not be able to pull the Europeans and Americans out of economic turmoil on their own though.

Economic and political inequalities remain strong obstacles to a stable and long-lasting global economic recovery. To these ends, Stiglitz called upon the audience of expert attorneys from around the world to protect and support universal access to legal justice.

If lawyers decide not to fill their time on that front, there is likely to be a lot of work available in the world of financial restructurings.

Pardiwalla Twomney Lablache

Attorneys-at-Law & Notary Public

Pardiwalla Twomney Lablache (PTL) celebrates 20 years of practice this end of year. Starting off as a general practice, the firm has, over the past decade, focused increasingly on corporate and business work and is now a leader in those areas. With a team of 6 Seychelles lawyers, PTL acts in a leader in those areas. With a team of 6 Seychelles lawyers, PTL acts in

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Kathleen Okafor  
Kathleen Okafor + Co  
Nigeria  
I’m looking forward to the sessions on arbitration and mediation because I want something that will facilitate resolution of conflicts. Litigation takes longer, whereas mediation is more transparent and friendly. People can end up being enemies at the end of litigation.

Obiageli Nwankpo  
Social Capital Limited  
Nigeria  
I’m really interested in the programme called ‘Getting personal – the tension between social media and work’, in particular because there have been a lot of developments in the US regarding employers using social media. I’d like to get a sense of how the way employees communicate about their employers on social media is handled in other parts of the world.

Dr. John de Groot  
de Groot  
Australia  
I’m interested in the ethical stream and practice management sessions which I’m sure will prove excellent. I’m also on my way to the keynote address and opening ceremony which I’m looking forward to. I’m a little disappointed that there aren’t any sessions on succession law issues or estate planning, considering the huge growth in the area.

John Conyngham  
Control Risks  
UK  
I’m really here for the sessions on criminal law and anti-corruption, so there are plenty of topics here with relevance to my practice. The session ‘Navigating the criminal law minefield: a cautionary tale for defence lawyers and lawyers representing corporations’ looks interesting.

Sean Wilken QC  
UK  
I’m a litigator so I’m definitely looking forward to the IBA guidelines for ethics on arbitration. I will also probably go to the in-house counsel session. The last few have been fantastic, so if it is anywhere near that standard then I’m sure it will be worthwhile.

Jorgen Almelov  
Setterwals  
Sweden  
I’m most looking forward to the session at which I’m speaking on the panel. It is on Thursday afternoon and will be an interactive session that focuses on risks relating to projects in Somalia. It’s run jointly by the insurance and maritime committees and will look at the issues surrounding the possibility of shipbuilding being attacked by pirates. I’m also looking forward to attending some arbitration events.

Solomon Etuk  
IADC  
Nigeria  
I’m going to be attending the commercial sections, specifically any that relate to aviation. Sessions on topics such as documentation and insurance will be helpful. This area of law is particularly helpful as there has been a large influx of traffic into our new state airport (in Akwa).

Andre de Melo Ribeiro  
Felsberg & Associados  
Brazil  
I am an employment lawyer so any sessions on that as well as arbitration, I’m looking for a good overview of international employment law trends. In Brazil we have a lot of employment law issues. Fortunately for us, we are at the other side of the economic curve so unemployment isn’t an issue. But it means a lot of issues are arising that we haven’t encountered before.

Anne-Sophie Nardon  
Borghese Associes  
France  
I’m looking forward to the two art law sessions. The first is on Monday afternoon ‘Fakes’ anatomy: a complete guide to avoiding fakes, half fakes and not original works’. The second is Tuesday morning – ‘Cornices, cupolas and copyrights’. We specialise in art law and the field is very international, so I’m hoping to meet some new contacts, and also discuss some of the most topical issues on the subject.
Was Malthus right?

As the global population ticks past seven billion and natural resources continue to diminish, Tom Young previews today’s session on overpopulation

... it is one of the most memorable meltdowns in modern literature. In Jonathan Franzen’s 2010 novel, Freedom, Walter, the book’s protagonist and neurotic environmentalist finally cracks over the issue of overpopulation, which has been weighing on him throughout the story.

At his career-defining press conference he snaps: “We are adding thirteen million human beings to the population every month! Thirteen million more people to kill each other in competition over finite resources! To wipe out every other living thing along the way! We are a cancer on the planet! A cancer on the planet!”

Walter – or more accurately his creator Franzen, who shares the character’s worries – is not alone. Overpopulation is a pressing matter, with the UN predicting that human population could accelerate to nine billion by the middle of the 21st century.

The recent rapid increase in human population over the past three centuries has raised concerns that the planet may not be able to sustain larger numbers of inhabitants. According to Steve Jones, head of the biology department at University College London “Humans are 10,000 times more common than we should be.”

Others believe that environmental problems, such as rising levels of carbon dioxide, global warming and pollution, are aggravated by population expansion. Other problems associated with overpopulation include the increased demand for resources such as fresh water and food, starvation and malnutrition, consumption of natural resources faster than the rate of regeneration (such as fossil fuels), and a decrease in living conditions.

This morning’s session: ‘Beyond the tipping point: is mankind populating itself into extinction?’ hosted by the University College London “Humans are 10,000 times more common than we should be.”

A long-standing concern

Although concern over population growth is ancient, with Tertullian, a well-known complainant in the second century, the issue only gained real attention after the industrial revolution, when the global population passed one billion.

Thomas Malthus, in his 1798 treatise, An Essay on the Principle of Population, predicted that mankind would outgrow its available resources, since a finite amount of land couldn’t support an endlessly increasing population. Many opposed him though. Mercantilists argued that a large population was a form of wealth, which made it possible to create bigger markets and armies.

During the 19th century, Malthus’s work was often interpreted in a way that blamed the poor alone for their condition, and helping them was regarded to worsen conditions in the long run. This resulted in the English Poor Laws of 1834 and in a hesitating response to the Irish Great Famine of 1845–52.

Birth control

More recently, in developing countries, governments have taken measures to limit growth. In India during the 1970s Indira Gandhi, late Prime Minister of India implemented forced sterilisation programmes. Officially, men with two children or more had to submit to sterilisation, but many unmarried young men, political opponents and ignorant men were also believed to have been sterilised.

China uses strict measures to reduce birth rates. Religious and ideological opposition to birth control has been cited as a factor contributing to overpopulation and poverty. Some leaders and environmentalists have suggested that there is an urgent need to strictly implement a China-like one-child policy globally by the UN, because this would help control and reduce population gradually.

Others have proposed a so-called choice-based, marketable birth license plan, known as birth credits. This plan allows any woman to have as many children as she wants, as long as she buys a license for any children beyond an average allotment that would result in zero population growth. If that allotment was determined to be one child, for example, then the first child would be free, and the market would determine what the license fee for each additional child would cost. Extra credits would expire after a certain time, so these credits could not be hoarded by speculators. The actual cost of the credits would only be a fraction of the actual costs involved in raising a child, so the credits would serve more as a wake-up call to women who might otherwise produce children without seriously considering the long-term consequences to themselves or society.

Some observers, though, question whether any of these methods need to be used. Franzen and other opponents to population growth believe that salvation could be found in the theory of demographic transition. Under this model, as the standard of living and life expectancy increase, birth rates decline. Statistics appear to back this up. Population is still technically growing, but according to the UN Population Division’s (UNPD) numbers, that growth is slowing dramatically. According to the UNPD, population growth will continue to slow down over the next few decades. Birth rates have been dropping for nearly 50 years. Many demographers think this because of the growth of urbanisation. When families live in the country on farms, it makes more economic sense to raise larger families, to ensure people to help them care for them in their old age. Cities also tend to have better healthcare facilities, which reduce infant mortality. This in turn means that parents have fewer children, since more of their existing children are surviving to adulthood.

In his book The Empty Cradle, demographic expert Philip Longman argues: “As more of the human race find itself living under urban conditions in which children no longer provide any economic benefit to their parents, but are rather costly impediments to material success, people who are well adapted to this new environment will tend not to reproduce themselves. And many others who are not so successful will imitate them.”

Location not numbers

Throughout the arguments surrounding overpopulation, one factor appears indisputable though it’s not simply how many are born every minute, but where they are born that matters most. Population growth is not necessarily proportionate to environmental damage. It depends where the populations are growing, with citizens in developed countries consuming more resources than those in developing ones. “It’s well known that 100 Americans use about as much resources as 100 Sudanese,” said Franzen this year. Some believe that waste and overconsumption, especially by wealthy nations, is putting more strain on the environment than overpopulation. This summer, Stephen Emmott, head of computational science at Microsoft, gave a stark warning in his London play, Tin Billions. According to Emmott, it takes 3,000 litres of water to make a burger and the UK eats 10 billion burgers a year. A world population of 10 billion would need 960 new dams, each of them the size of the world’s largest in China’s Three Gorges, plus 15,000 nuclear power stations and 11 million wind farms.

The effects population growth could have on global warming are huge too. The great objective of intergovernmental action has always been to restrict the rise in average global temperature to no more than 2°C, but a growing body of research suggests a warning by 6°C is becoming likely. In which case, Emmott says, the world will become “a complete hellhole” consumed by conflict, famine, flood and drought.

Today’s session may be one of the more harrowing at this week’s conference, but it’s also one of the most pressing.
Ireland has always punched above its weight in literary terms. From Jonathan Swift to Samuel Beckett, world literature has been shaped by the extraordinary range of authors hailing from this small country, not least its four Nobel Prize winners. More extraordinary than any other, perhaps, is James Joyce. His groundbreaking work is rooted in the streets of Dublin, the city where he was born in 1882 – none more so than his most famous novel, Ulysses.

Although Joyce emigrated to Zurich in 1904 and spent the rest of his life in continental Europe, his fascination with Dublin never left him. In the city’s winding streets and colourful characters, he saw something universal. In his own words: “If I can get to the heart of Dublin I can get to the heart of all the cities of the world.” Ulysses is a meticulous and loving portrait of Dublin as it was on June 16, 1904, the day Joyce first took Nora Barnacle, his future wife, out on a date.

Joyce went to painstaking lengths to make sure his memories of Dublin were accurate, using an old street directory to double-check everything. Many of the characters of Ulysses can also be traced to real people that Joyce knew. The novel’s protagonist, Leopold Bloom, is based in part on his friend John Hunter, and Buck Mulligan, whose morning routine starts the story, was inspired by Oliver St. John Gogarty. A well-known figure in Joyce’s home city, Gogarty’s spirit lives on in the pub named after him in the Temple Bar district.

June 16 – called ‘Bloomsday’ after Ulysses’ central character – is celebrated in Dublin and all over the world with readings, performances, and some slightly more eccentric cultural activities: as part of 2004’s Bloomsday celebrations, 10,000 Dubliners were treated to a free, open-air full Irish breakfast. The James Joyce Centre on North Great St. George’s Street is the hub of these festivities, and also holds Joyce-themed events all year round, including walking tours of the city every Saturday that take in many of the places featured in Ulysses. For a more leisurely taste of Joyce’s world, the pub where Leopold Bloom lunches, Davy Byrne’s, still stands in Duke Street.

But Dublin has not always been this proud of this literary masterpiece. Banned in the USA and UK in 1922, official censorship of Ulysses was never necessary in Ireland: no bookshop would stock it until the 1960s. It was not until 1933 that the ban on publication and import would be overturned in America, with Britain following suit shortly afterwards. After a battle over a decade long to defend Ulysses in court again, this 1933 trial was held up in part by the months it took the judge just to read the book.

Challenging, absorbing and electrifying, Ulysses is a peculiarly Irish masterpiece. Joyce may have seen in Dublin every city in the world, but only Dublin could produce the real people and places that make Ulysses so powerful, and so unique.
Despite its best intentions the International Criminal Court has been slow to prosecute. Hans Corell, the UN’s former under-secretary-general for legal affairs, tells Bryony Bates why

**Scrutinising the ICC**

Hans Corell served as Under-Secretary-General for Legal Affairs and the Legal Council at the UN from 1994 to 2004. From 1985-93, he was a member of Sweden’s delegation to the UN General Assembly, and was one of three rapporteurs who wrote the proposal for the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. While Under-Secretary-General, he oversaw the creation of the International Tribunal for Rwanda, the Special Court for Sierra Leone, and the Extraordinary Chambers of the national courts of Cambodia which are trying former Khmer Rouge leaders.

In 2006, he became the chairman of the board of trustees of the Raoul Wallenberg Institute for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law at Lund University in Sweden. He currently co-chairs the IBA World Organizations Committee.

What role can the IBA play in relation to world organisations like the UN?

They can play a great role but one has to be careful. The UN is a very multi-faceted organisation. If you are to have valuable contacts between the UN and the IBA, you will have to have those at expert level. We have to engage the various committees that can identify people who do similar work in the world organisations. One of the best examples is the cooperation between the IBA and UNCITRAL [United Nations Commission on International Trade Law].

However, this does not mean that one should not also make contact at the highest level: through the president or the executive director, and also through the Human Rights Institute and the Rule of Law Action Group. These are issues of a more general nature so useful contact could be made there at a more central level.

In 2009, you said that the ICC’s record was “not too impressive.” Has your position changed since then, and what steps still need to be taken to ensure the effectiveness of the ICC?

Has my position changed? Not really, because it has one case where it has pronounced a judgement and the ICC has been in operation for ten years. If you compare that to the Yugoslav tribunal, and the Rwanda tribunal, they were much more advanced after ten years. There are several reasons for this. The ICC depends very much on the cooperation of states. It’s the duty of the state to cooperate with the ICC. I have been following very closely developments in Kenya, and the ICC cases relating to the situation in that country, and there is room for improvement with cooperation there.

I think one also has to look at the Security Council. I think it’s the duty of the Council to back up the ICC, as they have done in Libya. Another matter I think is very important is when the Security Council can ask the ICC Prosecutor to investigate a situation under Article 13(b) [of the Rome Statute]. If they consider doing this they should always use the same yardstick, and they don’t always do that. Why Sudan, why Libya and not the Middle East?

Do you think ‘responsibility to protect’ (R2P) is proving a useful concept in the enforcement of international law?

It’s necessary that the UN can take steps. R2P has three dimensions. First is the responsibility of the state itself to protect its people, and if the state can’t do that, there is the responsibility on the part of other states to assist. It’s only if other means do not help, and you have to protect the people against genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity, that the Security Council can step in under Chapter VII [of the UN charter] and if necessary use force.

I view this procedure as similar to the situation at the national level, where you have one authority that is authorised to use force in order to maintain law and order: namely the police. There is no corresponding police at the international level, but the Security Council has a role here. I think it’s very important that it is made known to rulers around the world that the Council can actually take this step. If the Council told the world that from now on it is not going to accept that rulers mishandle their people, it would be a tremendous signal.

What is your opinion on the divisions we have seen within the Security Council over Syria?

I’m very critical of China and Russia [vetoing resolutions relating to Syria]. They should have joined hands with the other members on the Council, sending a united signal to the government of Syria that it can’t continue this way. The atmosphere in Damascus would have been completely different. If I look at Libya, there the members of the Council joined hands. I know there have been discussions about the way in which the NATO operation was conducted, but that’s just one story.

“China and Russia should have joined hands with the other members on the Council”

At the same time, when I’m critical of China and Russia, I was equally critical of the US and UK when they attacked Iraq in 2003. It is a matter of bowing to the UN Charter: states can’t apply the Charter just as they please.

Spreading the Rule of Law is a particular concern of yours. What can IBA delegates do in this field?

They can do a lot! By way of example we recently published a booklet called Rule of Law – A guide for politicians on the website of the Raoul Wallenberg Institute and the Human Rights Institute in the Hague. This idea was born in a discussion among former heads of state and government. They had a meeting in Stockholm in 2008 and the point was made that there was a need to raise politicians’ awareness of the basics of international law and the meaning of the rule of law.

Members of the IBA in every state in the world could spread this link [to the booklet] to every political party, or every political institution they can think of, to spread the message about the rule of law. We will use every means of telling the world. I’ve been serving for many years in the courts, in the Ministry of Justice, in the foreign office, and then in the UN and now eight years being more free to act as I can, and this is my determined opinion: rule of law is an absolute necessity in addressing the challenges mankind faces.

Rule of Law – A guide for politicians can be found at [http://rw.i.lu.se/what-we-do/academic-activities/pub/rule-of-law-a-guide-for-politicians/](http://rw.i.lu.se/what-we-do/academic-activities/pub/rule-of-law-a-guide-for-politicians/)
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The UN lawyer

Patricia O’Brien oversees the Office of Legal Affairs at the UN – arguably one of the most challenging positions in the profession. Here she talks to Tom Young about her role.

As Under-Secretary-General for legal affairs and UN legal counsel, Patricia O’Brien oversees the Office of Legal Affairs. In short, her aim is to provide unified central legal service for the entire UN. This is no easy feat. Based at the UN headquarters in New York and managing 200 staff of more than 60 different nationalities, her role is huge and wide ranging. O’Brien will appear in a landmark interview at today’s conference. In anticipation of the must-see event, here’s an insight into the challenges of a lawyer in a truly unique position.

What are the key aims of your role as the Under-Secretary-General for Legal Affairs and UN Legal Counsel?
The aim is to provide legal advice and support for the Secretary-General of the Organization, for the Secretariat as well as for the principal and subsidiary organs of the UN when required. In terms of the work I cover, we deal with a wide range of international law issues, starting with legal issues relating to our peacekeeping and political field operations, international humanitarian law, transitional and international criminal justice and we support the International Court of Justice, the principal judicial organ of the UN.

We also deal with the day-to-day political issues that arise around the world which create questions of international law – whether it’s the Middle East, Africa or other regions. As you can imagine there’s a lot of strife globally and wherever the UN is involved, there are legal situations we have to deal with.

We also deal with oceans matters and law of the sea. This year marks the 30th anniversary of the UN’s convention on the Law of the Sea, which is hugely significant and is often characterised as a “constitution for the oceans”.

My office also deals with the codification and further development of international law, serving the Sixth (Legal) Committee of the General Assembly and the International Law Commission. In addition, we have the International Trade Law division, which is based in Vienna and which acts as the secretariat for UN Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL).

A large part of the office is the general legal division which deals with procurement, administrative, contract, arbitration and human resources-related issues. The UN has total contracts of more than $4 billion annually, on anything from purchases and hiring of equipment for peacekeeping troops to high value humanitarian and aid arrangements.

The UN has a staff of over 60,000 people so my Office represents the Secretary-General in the system of administration of justice for these staff members.

Finally, we have a treaty section, which deals with treaty laws. This section discharges approximately 550 such treaties.

Could you explain the role you have played in the emergence of the International Criminal Court?
This year we’re celebrating the 10th year anniversary of the ICC. We work extremely closely with the ICC in a number of ways. On a practical level we provide the Court with logistical arrangements in places where we are deployed.

We assist the Court directly through our peacekeepers and our relationships with states to achieve its objectives. The ICC comes across my plate daily and we really see the ICC at the heart of a system of international criminal justice.

There are 16 cases in seven situations at the moment that have been brought to the ICC. Only yesterday, I had to advise on Saif al-Islam Gaddafi after Libya announced that it would seek to prosecute him in Libya rather than hand him over to the ICC.

“There will be accountability for these crimes and there can be no impunity for anyone”

The UN’s ‘responsibility to protect’ doctrine has been severely tested in the ongoing troubles in Syria. What position is the UN now in with regards to Syria and continuing to emphasise its government’s responsibilities?
The UN is working incredibly hard to stop the violence. Every day brings different situations. We’re not looking at the extent to which Lakhdar Brahimi, the new joint special envoy of the UN and the League of Arab States for Syria will work with the Syrian government. Obviously the fundamental aspect and first pillar of ‘responsibility to protect’ is the responsibility of the state itself to protect its own population against war crimes, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing and genocide. The issue though is that in the Syria situation we have moved along from the first pillar to the third pillar which calls upon the international community to take timely and decisive action to protect the population from those crimes.

There is a provision under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter which has allowed China and Russia to veto three times any action from the UN, but we have still been able to push for humanitarian action to prevent the country’s citizens being held hostage by what is basically a global political deadlock.

Nobody can be sure what the outcome will be but our position is completely clear: the violence must stop. And the international crimes committed will lead to a day of reckoning. There will be accountability for these crimes and there can be no impunity for anyone, not even for heads of state involved.

In recent years we have witnessed the trend of fighting internally within states as seen in the Arab Spring. Does this suggest a re-think of the ‘responsibility to protect’ and its first pillar requirement of states having to guarantee the safety of their own citizens?
The concept of the responsibility to protect applies everywhere and all of the time, regardless whether we are looking at a conflict of an international character or an internal conflict. What is important is that the concept places the emphasis on the state itself and its sovereignty. This sovereignty entails responsibility. If states take this responsibility seriously, there would be no need to go beyond the first and the second pillar. There has though, been a greater emphasis on the third pillar.

Whatever people might say about the Libya situation, by virtue of the Security Council resolution on Libya, allowing action that subsequently followed, that bring about an end to the violence and the war crimes being perpetrated at the time. While the Russians and Chinese have a problem with that and argue that the allies went far beyond the resolution, the other argument can be made that thousands of lives were saved.

Have you always been more interested in international law and human rights law than commercial law?
Not really. I trained as a barrister for ten years in Dublin and did a variety of commercial, constitutional and contract work. Then I went to the academic world in Vancouver where I taught for a number of years. I then practiced as a prosecutor there for a short while. But international law was always very interesting because I have had a very peripatetic life. I was born in Brunei and I’ve moved around the world all my life. So I’ve had an interest in international issues more than domestic ones.

Could you describe an average day?
When the Secretary-General is in New York, I make myself available to meet him whenever he requires. At busy times I could sometimes meet him two to three times a day to discuss either internal legal issues or those which have been raised by Member States. No one day is the same, but there are certain duties that go with the job. I have to manage the office of 200 staff. Also, as my office advises the whole organisation I will often have to meet with colleagues from other walks of UN life, for example, peace-keeping, procurement or humanitarian affairs. My door must be open to the diplomatic corps, who have their own state issues, so ambassadors will come and raise issues with me. Then I might have a working lunch, so it’s pretty non-stop all day.

At the UN, the Secretary-General drives the policy of the organisation and he informs me as legal counsel, am at his table on policy formulation and political issues.
To its proponents, the universal banking model offers clients the benefits of diversification in combining the complexities of investment banking with simpler commercial-banking services. Regulatory discussions to-date have presumed that any reasonable reform must leave these banking behemoths intact.

But Sandy Weil’s call in July to break up the too-big-to-fail lenders made clear just how far the debate on bank reform has shifted in recent months. That the man behind the mergers that created Citigroup – the archetypal universal-banking giant – was prepared to announce a volte-face was as unexpected as it was important.

It’s thanks, of course, to the recent spate of high-profile banking scandals. The Libor probe fuelled particular support in the US for a reintroduction of the Glass-Steagall Act – a post depression-era set of rules dividing Wall Street and Main Street. While in the UK, market support has grown for a toughing-up of bank reforms proposed by the Vickers Commission.

With this in mind, IFLR asked if the introduction – or reintroduction – of Glass-Steagall-style reform really is the right future for UK and US banks. Bankers’ counsel voted unequivocally against the move, with 66% of respondents arguing it was not the right remedy.

One respondent dismissed the split of investment and retail banking as the dumbest idea in the world. “Weil’s comments were motivated by nothing more than a grudge he has with Jamie Dimon,” he says. “Dimon would be badly hurt by a break up of the banks and Weil knows that. Also Citi shares are worth more to him if the banking giant breaks up than they are if it stays as a whole.”

Others argued the focus on Glass-Steagall missed the real issue. “The repeal of Glass-Steagall in the US in the early 1990s did not cause the financial crisis,” says one US bank’s general counsel. “Had Glass-Steagall been in place prior to the sub-prime crisis, it would have done nothing to prevent damage caused by mortgage-backed collateralised debt obligations.”

Another New York-based bankers’ counsel says reinstating it would be a huge mistake. “The main issue, and something that most Glass-Steagall supporters seem to miss, is not the scope of activities banks are permitted to participate in but the size these entities are allowed to grow,” he says. Once a financial institution grew to a size deemed too-big-to-fail so too did its potential to cause systemic harm to the financial system, he said. Placing a cap on the size such entities were allowed to grow would be far more effective than a reintroduction of Glass-Steagall.

Bankers’ counsel in the UK agree that the size of banks had become a problem. A UK-based investment banking counsel said there were too many large, complex global banks currently in the UK for the country to adequately support. “The total assets of international banks in the UK is now four times the country’s GDP,” he notes.

“That’s a worry when you consider that in death international banks become national as the burden falls on the UK tax payer to bail them out,” he says. “And it’s also a worry because such entities are now so huge that regulators can have no idea what’s actually going on within them.”

Adopting a Glass-Steagall-style banking model in the UK would do little to remedy this, he argues. He believes the creation of mutualised resolution regime, much like the suggested European banking union, would help better protect the UK banking sector.

Nonetheless, a minority of 34% of respondents believe Glass-Steagall could be the answer. One UK-based partner at a US law firm said the Libor rate-fixing allegations proved that commercial banks have been tainted by the culture of investment banks joined to them. He insists the ring-fencing of investment and retail banking, as proposed by the Vickers Commission, would not go far enough to rein in London’s voracious investment banking culture. “From sensible in-house risk management point of view, Glass-Steagall type separations make sense,” he says.
Spreading the rule of law

As the IBA marks its 65th birthday, president Akira Kawamura talks to Lucy McNulty about his achievements in the role and why he's still focussed on the financial crisis.

This year the IBA marks its 65th anniversary. It is a milestone that the IBA’s president Akira Kawamura is understandably proud of. After all, since its inauguration meeting in New York in 1947, the IBA has continued to uphold the purpose for which it was formed, with its members devoting their time and energy to making a real contribution to world peace and neighbourliness across 73 committees covering every area of law. Those who attended that first meeting should certainly be proud of what the IBA has achieved.

Not one to rest on his laurels, however, Kawamura is keen to build on the progress made. Indeed, since taking on the role in January last year he has not only spearheaded the opening of the IBA’s first Asian office and hosted the first IBA annual conference in the Middle East, but he has also played an active role in diversifying the IBA’s presence in new regions such as Russia.

He will be using the IBA annual conference in Dublin to break more new ground by tackling the unique challenges presented by the recent global economic crises and guiding lawyers to contribute to the sustainable development of the world economy, alleviate poverty and improve the prosperity of people through legal reform and justice. His tenure as IBA president culminates this year. Here he opens up about his successes as president and where he’d like the IBA to go now.

What do you see as your greatest achievements during your time as IBA President?

The most important accomplishment to me has been the diversification of IBA’s presence culturally and geographically. I have very much focused on mediating the differences between the various cultures IBA represents. And, because I’m the first Asian president, I think I’ve been well-placed to carry out that role.

I opened the first IBA Asian office in Seoul this year, which is already pretty active in organising conferences in Asia. We had a very successful conference in Dubai last year – a very new area for us. My trip around the region, before and after the conference, was also very successful in encouraging many Middle East royals to come together.

And I have been very active in dealing with the Russian legal profession too. For the past two years, I have been invited as a keynote speaker to the St Petersburg International Legal Forum. The Russian legal profession is going to remarkable efforts to make sure the market is much more international than before. I am pleased to have given much time and effort to these new areas.

What are the IBA’s current priorities?

We are focused on making the Dublin conference as successful as possible. Dublin is not only a very interesting and cultural venue. It is also a jurisdiction where the economy and the law were very seriously challenged during the global financial crisis, and a place where the government and the professions were very successful in working together to remedy the problems in a very limited period of time. It is, therefore, a very important place for the legal profession to get together and see how successfully the Irish legal services have functioned in recent years.

On a more individual basis, my mission throughout my tenure has been to ensure the IBA better caters for a more globalised legal profession. Over the course of the financial crisis, lawyers’ work evolved from the very jurisdictional to helping clients throughout the world. In conjunction with that, the legal framework under which lawyers may work all over the world has also been better developed: A global profession needs a global bar so I think the IBA must recognise its responsibility to support lawyers on a global basis.

How does the IBA balance its international focus with providing for the needs of local lawyers?

It’s an interesting challenge. In my view, there are not too many global firms at present. The global firms in existence are providing the type of service they are required to give the world economy. But in the meantime, it is very clear that these mega-firms cannot respond to all the demands for legal service all over the world. There will always be a requirement for the services of local independent firms.

Whether balancing or not, I am now very much convinced that both of the global mega-firms and local quality independent firms are necessary. But they’ve got to work together.

As the IBA celebrates its 65th anniversary, how can it best remain focused in the future on its founding objectives?

The IBA was formed to achieve rule of law throughout the world. By focusing our time and energy on a critical and timely topic such as the global financial crisis, it is my hope that the IBA is recognised as an organisation that promotes both peace and people’s well-being through the law.

What were your criteria for choosing the ‘Presidential Priority’ sessions at the conference?

The legal profession is, in my opinion, responsible for providing the remedies to the many difficulties borne out of recent financial crises across the world.

After the global financial crisis, we found that the economy could not be sustained unless it was supported by a large amount of help from various governments. To justify such government aids, the businesses receiving this must be good from the view of the people. This is where corporate social responsibility comes into its own. And it’s why I have highlighted several sessions in the programme on corporate social responsibility.

There are two speakers attending this year’s IBA annual conference who will make a good contribution to the presidential priorities. The first is the Nobel Prize in Economics Laureate, Dr Joseph Stiglitz. He was chief economist and senior vice-president of the World Bank between 1997 and 2000 and he has been invited as a keynote speaker. In Stiglitz’s published essay titled ‘Globalization and Its Discontents’ he mentions lawyers’ mission post global financial crisis should be to prevent asymmetries of legal service from taking place again.

He states that during the global economy’s boom years, the world was separated between two parts and in the end the weaker half suffered more. I think lawyers worldwide should take responsibility for building up a strong global legal profession that can work to prevent such division from occurring.

Dr Mohammed Yunus will also be attending the conference to advocate the necessity of protecting those living in the world’s poorer regions, such as Southern Asia, Sri Lanka and Pakistan.

What role can lawyers play in alleviating poverty?

Lawyers can do many things. The lawyers should defend the jobless people, or very poor people in the court by way of social security, and so on. In theory, times of financial crises should strengthen legal aid. But in many countries, including the UK, the budget for legal aid has decreased as result of the financial crisis. That’s not good. The opposite should be happening. Law firms shouldn’t lose sight of what’s important.

What are you looking forward to seeing in Dublin?

I’ve been to Dublin a few times before. It is a great city and those who live there are very welcoming. I’m particularly looking forward to sampling some of the hospitality of Irish bars! I’ve also promised the Irish Law Society that I will sing ‘Danny Boy’ at the Irish bar reception. It’s an Irish song, which is very well known in Japan too. I don’t know whether I’ll sing well but I will at least try!
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Encounters with Dubliners

Whether it’s between sessions or an extended weekend getaway, delegates should do some exploring while in Dublin. Danielle Myles takes a look at what the city has to offer.

As one of Europe’s smallest capitals, Dublin is the perfect IBAnhost city. Delegates have an easily accessible and walkable city at their doorstep, plus ever-friendly locals who will be more than happy to point you in the right direction. Here are some tips to get you started.

Dublin Castle
Located on Dame Street is the historical seat of British rule in Ireland. The Dublin Castle was the centre-point of the country’s governance for 800 years until Irish independence in 1922. Today, the grounds stretch 11 acres and consist of an international conference centre, two gardens, government buildings, two cafes and the State Apartments. The Apartments are considered the country’s most important and lavishly decorated rooms, and are used for formal engagements by the national government. Tickets are needed to see the Apartments (by guided tour only) but you are free to explore the rest of the grounds — including search for your family’s hidden Irish ancestry. www.dublincastle.ie

Guinness Storehouse
Even if you aren’t a fan of Ireland’s famous stout, a look through its original factory won’t disappoint. The self-paced tour is packed with audiovisual and interactive displays showing how the recipe started and won’t disappoint. The self-paced tour is changed, the amusing tale of factory’s lease, of British rule in Ireland. The Dublin Castle was the centre-point of the country’s governance for 800 years until Irish independence in 1922. Today, the grounds stretch 11 acres and consist of an international conference centre, two gardens, government buildings, two cafes and the State Apartments. The Apartments are considered the country’s most important and lavishly decorated rooms, and are used for formal engagements by the national government. Tickets are needed to see the Apartments (by guided tour only) but you are free to explore the rest of the grounds — including search for your family’s hidden Irish ancestry. www.guinness-storehouse.com

Drink like a Dubliner
There is more to Ireland’s capital than beer and whiskey, but even a whistle-stop tour of Dublin has to include some of its better drinking establishments. The sign outside the Dawson Lounge aptly describes it as ‘Probably the Smallest Pub in Dublin’. The place is a squeeze with 30 people inside, and the 1970s décor adds to the cozy atmosphere. It’s best to avoid the most well-known drinking locale — Temple Bar — unless you want to risk being included in some hens and stag celebrations. A better option is The Bank on College Green, a bank foyer converted into one of the city’s best cocktail bars. Café en Seine on Dawson Street is a reliable bar with big hand jaz on Monday nights. Market Bar and Brogan’s pub are also popular with locals.

Kilmalham Gaol
If you want a snapshot of Irish history, then a visit to this former prison is a must. Kilmalham Gaol was the focal point of all the major uprisings against British rule — including the famed 1916 Easter rising. Visitors are by guided tour only, but the walk-leaders are known for being very knowledgeable and able to give a good understanding of the troubled history of British-Irish relations. The site is to the south west of the city centre, so allow some time to get there. It’s worth the trip though — tourists consistently rate Kilmalham as the city’s top attraction. www.heritageireland.ie/en/dublin/kilmalhamgaol

Wicklow Mountains National Park
If it’s storybook Ireland you’re after, then schedule a daytrip to the Wicklow Mountains. Lying just an hour’s drive south of central Dublin, the rolling green hills and steely skies make a beautiful backdrop for a hike or picnic in the countryside. Short and more adventurous walking trails start at the visitor centre which is where your visit should begin. There you can also find details of two sets of 6th century monastic ruins, one of which is close by in the lower valley. The perfect way to end the day is at Johnnie Fox’s, the highest pub. Expect a lot of Irish music, Irish dancing, and Irish ornaments dangling from the ceiling. www.wicklowmountainsnationalpark.ie

Dublin’s villages
Another day — or half-day — option is to check out one of the city’s suburban villages. The coastal area of Malahide is a perfect example. Just 20 minutes by train from the city centre, Malahide’s marina is a reminder of Ireland’s often-overlooked fishing culture. The village is also a reminder that each Irish town still has its own castle. Malahide’s is particularly well maintained and is still lived in by the descendant family of the area’s former rulers. A walk along the rocky coast will lead you to some impressive lighthouses — many of which have been turned into accommodation rentals — and on a clear day you can see the tip of Wales across the Irish sea. www.enjoymalahide.com

Ha’penny Bridge
One of the city’s most recognisable landmarks is the cast iron pedestrian bridge across the River Liffey, which is affectionately dubbed the Ha’penny Bridge. Though originally named the Wellington Bridge and then the Liffey Bridge, the unofficial name became widely used when crossing the bridge cost you a half penny. There has been no toll since 1919, but the name has stuck.

The greens
Dublin’s most beautiful inner city park, St Stephen’s Green, is a favourite lunch spot among office workers looking to escape their desks. Stephen’s Green is right across from the shopping strip on Grafton Street and commemorates Ireland’s rich literary history including via a statue of James Joyce and WB Yeats memorial garden. The theme continues in Merrion Square, which lies just north of St Stephen’s. At its north west gateway is a statue of Oscar Wilde reclining on a boulder — a piece of artwork which inarguably captures the subject’s personality. In front sits a marble pillar with Wilde’s most notable quips. The memorial faces Wilde’s childhood home at One Merrion Square. The plaque sitting outside gives a glimpse of his upbringing and the early influences that shaped his ambitions. On Sunday afternoons Merrion Square becomes an open art exhibition centre. Vendors can only sell original pieces so you are guaranteed a one-of-a-kind. www.merrionart.com/

The Irish Houseparty
This traditional music and dance show, plus dinner, in an intimate theatre setting offers a great way to feel apart of the Dublin of old. The evening’s presenters recite the city’s literary legacy and some lesser known tales of the city. The location adds to the authentic-ity of the experience — the Georgian-style building retains its old-world charm and was designed by the same designer of Trinity College. When the show opened it was intended to be a temporary event. Its success and popularity means it is still running four years later. Bookings are essential. www.theirishhouseparty.com

An Evening of Food, Folklore and Fairies
If you are after a toned-down version of the Irish Houseparty, this could be your event. An Evening of Food, Folklore and Fairies consists of an evening storytelling in a candlelit setting in one of Dublin’s oldest pubs. The story-tellers receive rave-reviews and most visitors consider this one of the best things to do in the city. For a night of escapism and good food, you can’t miss it. www.brnzrunhead.com

Guinness Storehouse
Even if you aren’t a fan of Ireland’s famous stout, a look through its original factory won’t disappoint. The self-paced tour is packed with audiovisual and interactive displays showing how the recipe started and has changed, the amusing tale of factory’s lease, of British rule in Ireland. The Dublin Castle was the centre-point of the country’s governance for 800 years until Irish independence in 1922. Today, the grounds stretch 11 acres and consist of an international conference centre, two gardens, government buildings, two cafes and the State Apartments. The Apartments are considered the country’s most important and lavishly decorated rooms, and are used for formal engagements by the national government. Tickets are needed to see the Apartments (by guided tour only) but you are free to explore the rest of the grounds — including search for your family’s hidden Irish ancestry. www.guinness-storehouse.com

Folklore and Fairies
A perfect example. Just 20 minutes by train from the city centre, Malahide’s marina is a reminder of Ireland’s often-overlooked fishing culture. The village is also a reminder that each Irish town still has its own castle. Malahide’s is particularly well maintained and is still lived in by the descendant family of the area’s former rulers. A walk along the rocky coast will lead you to some impressive lighthouses — many of which have been turned into accommodation rentals — and on a clear day you can see the tip of Wales across the Irish sea. www.enjoymalahide.com

As you are leaving....
Keep an eye out for the Faces of Ireland exhibition at Dublin Airport. The collection by Kevin Abosch — one of Ireland’s most successful photographers — features 250 portraits of famous and lesser known representatives of each of the country’s 32 counties. Pierce Brosnan, Sinéad O’Connor and Gabriel Byrne all make appearances.
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Lessons from success

The law is finally recognising aboriginal title in the natural resource sector. An encouraging template has been set, says Ryan Bolger, ahead of this morning's panel.

aboriginals of the Canadian arctic territories are a symbol of how an indigenous population displaced both physically and legally can rise-up and control the industries that threatened their livelihoods.

Panelists at today’s session, ‘The dispossession: an examination of groups on the edge of society, their rights, legal challenges, successes and failures’, will discuss how the victories of these peoples can guide other groups on the edge of society.

Steven Cooper, a partner at Ahlstrom Wright Oliver & Cooper and moderator for the panel, knows the story well, having grown-up in the Arctic with the Inuit. His voice speeds up and jumps an octave when asked about an arctic fox and seal hunt expedition a village elder took him on as part of a school wilderness class.

That was in 1974 when Cooper was just a boy. Now he is trying to make the subject of aboriginal and indigenous rights relevant to corporate counsel. Cooper says the benefits are easy to see in primary industries reliant on natural resources. “I’ve seen the change in the way companies do business in the North, and I’m hoping that is indicative of the change in attitude around the world,” Cooper says.

Energy companies that bulldozed aboriginal settlements half a century ago are now partnering with the Inuit and other aboriginal groups in the arctic. The best example is possibly the Mackenzie Gas Project, a planned 3,196 km natural gas pipeline in which the Aboriginal Pipeline Group holds one-third ownership rights.

That project was originally proposed in the 1970s, but was halted following the release of a report by Justice Thomas Berger on the pipeline’s impact on the environment, economy and inhabitants of the land. Berger, then chairman of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Commission, placed a moratorium on the project until land claims could be settled with indigenous groups.

In 1999 the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut reached a landmark agreement with the Canadian government that recognised the Inuit’s right to nearly two million square kilometers of land in northwestern Canada. A lot of that land resides over precious minerals and energy deposits.

“The legal regime has slowly recognised aboriginal title in the resources in which companies have been interested,” Cooper says. “When it was a right vested solely in the federal government, there was no reason to engage with the aboriginals.”

Benefits to corporates

The Mackenzie Gas Project has since stalled again, this time because of lowering natural gas prices, but the takeaway remains: some aboriginal groups in Canada are in a crucial position – one of successful business enterprise, encouraged by a history of government-backed education programs and recognition of land rights.

“What we’ve tried to do is find the intersection between the development of resources and other interactions between indigenous groups and corporations,” Cooper says. “We emphasise the benefits to the corporate world and help industry relate to indigenous groups.”

Cooper, along with Lina Lorenzoni, vice-chair of the IBA’s Indigenous Peoples Committee, and Garth Wallbridge, an attorney who represents aboriginal groups in the Northwest Territories, are brainstorming a plan to start a company that would focus on using the Canadian success story as a model for aboriginal groups in Colombia and other South American jurisdictions.

These countries have ratified the ILO convention on indigenous rights, but you see how important [sovereign laws] are to the economic growth of the area given the mining sector and oil exploration have made governments more aware of the importance of this regulation,” Lorenzoni says.

J urisprudence has also played a role. The Colombian Constitutional Court blocked three construction projects last year because the Ministry of Transportation did not consult with indigenous groups before starting the project on their territory.

Colombia has a larger number of court precedents in favour of indigenous groups than Peru, but it will be instructive to see how Peruvian courts interpret the law, namely which groups must be consulted. There are different, unconnected peoples claiming territorial land rights in these jurisdictions so consulting with one of them does not necessarily mean a new project can proceed under the law.

Obstacles for South America

South American indigenous peoples will have to clear some major hurdles if they are to enjoy the type of success that the Canadians have experienced. Lorenzoni says organisation and networking will be paramount.

“For marginalised groups to get together is very important,” Lorenzoni says. “If you’re split and divided you’re not going to have the standing to negotiate. This is something the Canadians have shown us.”

Another group of marginalised citizens could also make some strides through organisation and advocacy, but do not have an advantage of recognised land rights. The Irish Travellers are an exceptionally small minority that has suffered from cultural discrimination and persecution, along with early-age mortality rates and high unemployment rates.

The Irish Traveller Movement (ITM) seeks to change that. This Dublin-based non-governmental organisation represents Travellers across Ireland through advocacy, political lobbying and litigation.

Susan Fay joined the ITM earlier this year as solicitor in the law centre. She said that in recent decades legislation has been introduced to give more protection to Travellers’ rights and to prevent discrimination, but the group needs to be recognised as an ethnic minority to provide clarity on the application of international conventions protecting minority rights. The UK courts have recognised Travellers as an ethnic minority and in 2005 the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination request that the Irish Government “work more concretely towards recognizing the Traveller community as an ethnic group.”

Formally legally recognizing Traveller ethnicity would ensure that, regardless of the domestic government of the day, Travellers would have rights under international conventions that could not be repealed by domestic government,” Fay said.

The Prohibition of Incitement to Hatred Act of 1989 provides some protection to Travellers, but laws prohibiting hate crimes and other discriminatory behaviour might not apply to them without ethnic minority status, according to the ITM.

The UK and Northern Ireland have both recognised Travellers as ethnic minorities and other members of the United Nations have urged Ireland to do the same.

“It would ensure that, regardless of the domestic government of the day, Travellers would have rights under these international conventions that could not be removed by domestic government,” Fay says.

Fay will be joined in this discussion by David Joyce, a barrister and Traveller himself who will provide real insight, Victor Rodriguez-Recia, a consultant on human rights from Costa Rica who will share her knowledge on the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, and Garth Wallbridge who is expected to explain success in the Arctic.

“Some of the most exciting and inspiring cases in history have been taken on by marginalised groups,” Fay says. “I think most people who get into law are inspired, and it’s easy for lawyers to forget to make the massive contribution that we can.”
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